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SUBJ: SOVIET COMMENTARY ON LATIN AMERICA

1. SUMMARY. A LONG THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF LATIN AMERICA IN IZVESTIYA EMPHASIZED THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN THE REGION. WHILE APPROVING EXAMPLES OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM, THE ARTICLE DEPICTS THE NATIONAL OLIGARCHIES AND THE BOURGEOISIE AS FOES OR FICKLE ALLIES OF BASIC SOCIAL CHANGE. NEVERTHELESS THE PRESCRIPTION IS FOR "PROGRESSIVE" FORCES TO SEEK BROAD COALITIONS, AND SOVIET POLICY OBJECTIVES

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ARE LIMITED TO ENCOURAGING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.

THE U.S. IS TREATED AS A NEGATIVE FORCE, BUT THE POINT IS NOT BELABORED. END SUMMARY.

2. IZVESTIYA (APRIL 7) CARRIES A LONG AND AUTHORITATIVE COMMENTARY BY A. BOVING AND R. TUCHNIN CALLED "LATIN AMERICA: TIME OF DEEP MOVEMENT." THE CONTENTS VIRTUALLY BELIE THE TITLE, HOWEVER, BY POINTING OUT IN GREAT MARXIST-LENINIST DETAIL THE FACTORS INHIBITING CHANGE AND THE PROBLEMS FACING THE "PROGRESSIVE" FORCES.

3. THE ARTICLE BEGINS BY POINTING TO THE WIDE CONTRASTS BETWEEN REGIMES IN THE REGION, RANGING FROM CUBA TO CHILE, AND THE ENORMOUS DISPARITIES BETWEEN HIGH TECHNOLOGY AND WIDE-SPREAD ILLITERACY. CUBA IS NOT DISCUSSED IN THE ARTICLE, BUT IS MENTIONED AS THE EXCEPTION TO GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT THE OTHER COUNTRIES. THE MAIN PROBLEMS, SAYS IZVESTIYA, ARE THOSE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION. NEITHER "NATIONAL LIBERATION" NOR "SOCIAL PROGRESS" MAKE SENSE WITHOUT BREAKING "ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEPENDENCE ON THE UNITED STATES." THE ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE OAS AS A "COLD WAR" INSTITUTION DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN U.S. HEGEMONY. BUT THE BONDS ARE LOOSENING, AND SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LATIN AMERICAN VISIT SHOWED U.S. EFFORTS TO MODIFY ITS POLICY WHILE REAFFIRMING ITS IMPORTANT INTERESTS. "LATIN AMERICA IS NOT VIETNAM OR CAMBODIA," SAYS IZVESTIYA. BUT DESPITE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOUTH AND NORTH AMERICAN BOURGEOISIE, THEIR "CLASS INTERESTS" OVERLAP, AND LEADERS WHO PRESS ISSUES OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM DO NOT FOLLOW THROUGH TO THEIR "LOGICAL (AND POLITICAL) CONCLUSION." IZVESTIYA CONTINUES. THE ARTICLE ASSERTS THAT THE "FIRST LIBERATION" OF THE CONTINENT CAME "TOO EARLY" AND THE SECOND IS COMING "TOO LATE."

4. TURNING TO SPECIFIC COUNTRIES, THE ARTICLE PRAISES PERU AND PANAMA, AND ATTRIBUTES THE POSITIVE CHANGES THERE TO "PROGRESSIVE ATTITUDES OF THE OFFICERS." AFTER REVIEWING THE NUMBER OF COUPS IN THE PAST 150 YEARS (ABOUT 550) AND THE LAST 30 YEARS (ABOUT 70), THE ARTICLE POINTS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MILITARY AS A FORCE FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE--SOMETIMES. THE BOURGEOIS-CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REGIMES (MEXICO, VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA AND "SEVERAL CARIBBEAN STATES") ARE SAID TO SEE THEIR INTERESTS IN PROMOTING GRADUAL SOCIAL CHANGE, BUT NOT TO WELCOME PRESSURE FROM BELOW. MAJOR ELEMENTS, ESPECIALLY FINANCIAL GROUPS, SEEK TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO.

5. THE EXTREME CASE, NEEDLESS TO SAY, IS CHILE, WHICH

IS SAID TO ILLUSTRATE THE EFFECT OF A BOURGEOIS ALLIANCE WITH, OR AT LEAST TOLERANCE OF, REACTION. NICARAGUA, PARAGUAY AND HAITI ARE INCLUDED IN A SIMILAR GROUP AND ARE PICTURED AS ANOMALIES IN THE MODERN WORLD. BRAZIL RATES A "SPECIAL PLACE" BECAUSE OF ITS SIZE AND NATURAL WEALTH, BUT THE REGIME'S EFFORTS TO PROJECT A "LIBERAL" IMAGE ARE SAID TO BE MERELY A FACADE. BOLIVIA'S "NATIONALISM" IS DESCRIBED AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL TOOL USED BY THE REGIME TO MAINTAIN ITSELF IN POWER. URUGUAY AND CHILE ARE GIVEN AS EXAMPLES OF THE "VICTORY OF REACTION." ARGENTINA, HOWEVER, IS TREATED CAUTIOUSLY. SINCE THE PREVIOUS "INACTIVE GOVERNMENT" WAS UNABLE TO ARREST RISING CHAOS, THE MILITARY OVERTURNED IT, BUT "THE SOCIAL-POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THE RULING JUNTA IS STILL NOT CLEAR," SAYS IZVESTIYA. THE ARTICLE ACCEPTS THE NEED FOR "ORDER," BUT IT ASKS WHETHER ORDER IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT PARTICIPATION OF THE "DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT OF THE MASSES."

6. TURNING TO THE PRESCRIPTION FOR TODAY, IZVESTIYA SAYS THAT THE MAIN ENEMY IS "IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY." THEREFORE THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION LIES IN BUILDING A "BROAD COALITION INCLUDING ALL FORCES WHICH STAND FOR FREEDOM AND SOCIAL PROGRESS." BUT IT IS ESSENTIAL TO AVOID THOSE WHO ACTUALLY SYMPATHIZE WITH THE FOES, AS WELL AS "LEFTISTS" WHO CLAIM TO BE LEADING THE REVOLUTION BUT IN FACT STIMULATE A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REACTION. THE HAVANA MEETING OF LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN PARTIES (JUNE '75) SHOWED THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNISTS OF THE REGION.

7. THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES BY CITING BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS THAT MOSCOW WILL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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"SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THESE COUNTRIES" FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND "WELCOMES THEIR GREATER ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE."

8. COMMENT. THIS IS THE MOST COMPLETE AND AUTHORITY TATIVE SOVIET COMMENTARY ON LATIN AMERICA WHICH WE HAVE NOTED IN RECENT TIMES. THE CONTENTS ARE CONSISTENT WITH MOSCOW'S LINE ON INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND ON THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. BUT THE THEORETICAL OVERLAY SERVES MAINLY TO HIGHLIGHT THE OBSTACLES MOSCOW SEES ON THE ROAD TO MORE CONGENIAL REGIMES. DESPITE ITS EXAMPLES OF POSITIVE CHANGE AND ITS MANDATORY OPTIMISM THAT THINGS WILL IMPROVE, THE ARTICLE'S ANALYSIS AND PRESCRIPTION DESCRIBE A POSITION OF WEAKNESS AND RETROGRESSION IN WHICH THE BEST COMMUNIST TACTIC IS TO

FOLLOW THE CROWD IN HOPES OF SOMEDAY LEADING IT.
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